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HE THAT HATH AN EAR, LET HIM HEAR WHAT THE SPIRIT SAITH UNTO THE CHURCHES.—*Rev.* ii. 7.

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MR. BENNETT'S LETTER FROM EUROPE.

(*From the Herald for Europe.*)

THE CONDITION OF THE OLD WORLD—THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES—THE MEXICAN WAR—STARVATION AND SOCIETY IN EUROPE—MISERY AND MONEY ABROAD, &c.

Paris, 20th January, 1847.

The legislative bodies of both France and England are now in session. The sovereigns of both have delivered their speeches—and the debates of each body now begin to fill the newspapers to a very considerable extent. The subjects which engage their attention are of a novel and extraordinary kind. One portion of these matters consists of the intrigues of courts, the marriages of princes—the extinction of treaties; another portion is formed of the distress of the people, the glimmerings of insurrection and revolution, and the new attitude forced upon Europe towards America. All the commercial restrictions and laws heretofore put in force against the United States by England and France, have been broken down by the terrible destitution and famine which prevail in both countries. The awful deficiency of the crops has produced a commercial revolution which will throw the balance of wealth into the lap of the United States in a few short years, and make our country the great leading power of the commercial world.

There is also every reason to believe that the deficiency of the British and French harvests to support the populations of each country, will henceforth be a permanent condition of things—and not an accident happening in 1846. The population of the British kingdom is nearly thirty millions—that of France reaches thirty-five millions—but the state of agriculture in each, is such as to be unable to support such a vast mass of human existence, without an increasing and permanent supply from the United States. Tell the young men of enterprise in the United States to go a farming. Hereafter, Western Europe will permanently require an increasing supply of food for an increasing population. This relative position of the two continents will throw the balance of trade permanently in favour of the United States—and ultimately draw to America the great wealth of the old world.

From these views it will be seen that a new and extraordinary state of relations has grown up between America and Europe. However friendly they may appear—whatever attitude of kindness they may put on, the governments of Western Europe possess feelings of dislike, fear, and hatred to the United States. The people of Great Britain and France may feel differently, when they have sense and intelligence to feel at all; but their governments dread and fear the influence and wonderfully growing power of the government at Washington. No matter who may be President, he must expect the like attacks from the European press which have characterized the short career of Mr. Polk. The Mexican war, however it

may end, is a greater blow to the influence of Europe in the old and new world, than any other event that has taken place since the declaration of independence. If England and France could interfere with success between the United States and Mexico, and in favour of the latter, they would do so in a moment, even in a forcible shape. But they dare not—they are paralysed—they are thunder struck—they are bound hand and foot by the condition of their commercial relations, and their dependence for food on the fertility of the American soil. This dependence will increase—not diminish—as years pass away. Here is Paris, and a great portion of France, verging to the brink of famine, and its awful political consequences, such as were formerly exhibited in 1790 or '91—and one of the principal resources of the present government for preserving order and filling hungry bellies, is the removal of all restrictions on the commercial relations with the United States, in the article of food. In England the same condition of things exist, and will continue to exist.

Therefore do I say to the young men of the United States, go to work—turn farmers—take hold of the plough—cultivate the earth—raise food for Europe. All the corn laws of France and England have been broken to pieces, never more to be renewed. The population of these countries have outrun, and will outrun, the means of subsistence. The deficiency of next year, in the article of food, will be greater than that of the last year. The chances are that not only a permanent high price will be affixed to all American breadstuffs hereafter, but that the rates will advance. No one who has not seen Europe in all its magnificence and misery can realize the novel relations which have now been precipitated upon the old and new world.

One of the curious phenomena of the age is the horrid mixture of frivolity and sadness which spread through the debates of the two legislative bodies of France and England. On the one side, we see the ludicrous and laughable importance given to the marriage of a young Frenchman from the banks of the Seine, to a young and pretty Spanish girl from the centre of Spain. On the other hand, the little weight attached to the misery of the people—the wretched peasantry, in a state of starvation—the dead and the dying for the want of those common crumbs which fall in such abundance from the tables of the rich and lofty. I might also note the ridiculous importance and oceans of fine false sentiment thrown away upon Cracow and the last ray of ancient Poland. The iron despotism of the three great monarchies of Eastern Europe is a thing that admits of but one opinion, from freedom on earth or in heaven, Despotism, in its mildest form, is an unnatural, but only a transition state of society; but the fuss made about Cracow, when the people of France and Great Britain are dying of starvation, is the veriest fanfaronade imaginable. There is a great talk of war in certain portions of Europe—but I do not believe that war is a possible condition to any of the existing monarchies, except Russia. The present *regimes* can just preserve order, and continue their own existence, by their annual revenues. The French Government, since 1830, has even been more profuse in public expenditures. In the course of these sixteen or seventeen years of peace, about two hundred millions of dollars have been added to their national debt. What would it be in war? Such is the financial condition of the European governments that it is said the great capitalists, such as Rothschilds, Baringe, &c., keep the peace of Europe, by holding and tightening the purse strings. Indeed, many believe that there is a great delusion about the immense wealth of the great capitalists of Europe. The governments are all in debt, and only make a formidable display on credit and their revenue. It is supposed that their agents, the wonderful financiers and capitalists, are in a like condition—that all their wealth exists in paper credits; and their incomes, arising from their usual banking or commercial business, are all spent as fast as made, in splendid chateaux—country houses—magnificent living—and expensive pleasures. This is the opinion among many well-informed men, and there certainly is strong reason for placing a good deal of confidence in the idea.

On the whole, Europe is in an extraordinary state of transition. The press, the railroads, steam, electricity, the increase of population, and rise of the United States, all concur to produce a gradual but certain revolution, of which no one can see the end, or even its course of action. The elements of society, religion, government,

and philosophy are in a constant state of fermentation; and not all the existing governments united, with a million of soldiers at their command, can long repress the energies of three hundred millions of people. A new age is bursting upon civilization.

PROFESSOR BROWNSON'S LECTURE ON THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

(Extracted from the Herald for Europe.)

Professor Brownson, who is so well known throughout the country as a man of great intellect and learning, delivered a discourse on Tuesday evening, the 23rd ult., in the Tabernacle, New York, to an audience of about 2500 persons, on the "Revolutionary Spirit of the Age." It was listened to with intense interest throughout. Our reporter took pretty full notes, and made a report of this lecture, which is as follows:—

The subject which I have chosen for this evening's lecture, is the "Revolutionary Spirit of the Age." In treating this subject, I shall take the word "revolution" in a somewhat enlarged sense—so large, indeed, as to make my subject really, though not formally, the spirit of the age itself; for if we look close at the age in which we live, we shall find that if it be not exactly revolutionary, yet revolution is its eminent characteristic; and if we wish to distinguish it by a single epithet, we shall term it the revolutionary age. There may be two sorts of revolutions—a revolution which is brought about by violence. There may be a revolution that is not, in the strict sense of the term, brought about by violent changes of opinion—a revolution that is brought about by the gradual development of principles, till men's minds are so changed, that the old institutions fall of themselves, and new ones are substituted in their place. I take the word in both of these senses, and shall speak of revolution in both. If we take a glance at the age we live in, and at the present condition and state of the nations of the world, we shall see that very few appear to have settled institutions. In all, there is more or less of uneasiness—a spirit of discord, of a dislike to what is; of a desire, more or less definite or vague, for something which is not, but which is believed will be better, and for which you see efforts, more or less marked, made for the purpose of changing the existing order, and of introducing something else. This is universal. It appears in this country as well as in the old world. It is looked upon as the spirit of the age—a spirit that will enable them to reach that elevated state of earthly well-being, as well as of moral being, of which they are capable, and which is certainly desirable. This is felt by all persons of all parties, occupying every position. Every where we find the question of change is before men's minds. The right of change and the question of the proper means for effecting a change, also come up. Nor is this peculiar to this precise epoch in which we live. This desire for change has been marked in modern society for three centuries past, and we say of the last three centuries that they have been revolutionary centuries. There has been a general want of stability of institutions—stability in men's habits—in manners—in customs. Perpetual changes go on, and these changes have often been effected by war, by insurrection, and revolution, till, finally, we adopted the right of revolution; and, indeed, no small portion of our own countrymen hold to the SACRED RIGHT OF INSURRECTION. We hold, that the people have a right, whenever dissatisfied with their institutions, to change them in any manner which seems to them good, without reference to pre-existing laws. Another class of persons pretend to say that these changes may be brought about by violent means—that all institutions ought to be progressive—that in this world nothing can, or ought to be, fixed. Everything is going onward, and should go onward, and that whoever attempts to resist progress in the internal or external concerns of man, is an enemy to his race and wars against the laws of God's universe. This last class, carrying their views further than that, say that generation may follow on generations, and after a lapse of ages the race has made progress—that man is not only progressive, but that human nature is in a continual state of

progress, from childhood to manhood and from manhood to old age; and that the progress does not stop with the individual man, but is supposed to attach to all created animals, and that it is not true, as Dr. Johnson says, that the beaver of to-day builds his house as well as did the beaver of four thousand years ago; but that the beaver and all animals are in a state of continual progress; and not only this, but they say the globe itself is in a state of progress, and not only the globe, but the whole universal system, and not only the whole universal system, but some go further, and say that the very cause of the universe is also progressive. We have men among us who claim to be philosophers—we have men of the day, who call themselves members of this "movement" in the language of the day—great friends of humanity—men of fine sentiments—of most philanthropic feelings—who call on us to harmonize ourselves as individuals, so that we may harmonize our race—and then harmonize the globe—for the sake of the planetary system, and then for harmonizing the universe with its Maker. These doctrines, however chimerical they may seem, are put forth by men who are not destitute of learning or of the kindly feelings of our nature, and who publish them extensively to the world—establish associations for the amelioration of our race, and even establish a church to clothe them with worship. Now, before proceeding to examine the views of those who hold to the right of violent revolutions, for they connect themselves with the doctrine of progress, I shall say a few words on the doctrine of progress itself. If you go out of the church, I say, the doctrine of progress is the leading doctrine of the age. I may say that it is the characteristic of the 19th century. Prominent men in Germany and Italy—the Michalets and Quinets—your own prominent men out of the church—your Channings, Ripleys, Greeleys, all advocate this doctrine of progress, and seem to take it for granted, that it needs no proof and may be assumed as a starting point in the argument. The term "progress" implies motion. If in the moral world, moral motion. The general definition of it may be from the imperfect to the perfect. Now I believe it is a law well ascertained that there can be no motion without something from which that motion must come; without there being something on which the instrument of motion must rest as a basis. It would be hard for a counter bird to fly if he had no pressure on the atmosphere. You cannot lift a weight by machinery without there is something for your machinery to rest upon. If you assume that all things are in progress—that the cause of the universe even, is progressive—you assume that all is in motion, and that nothing is at rest; and then you assume, what is a philosophical absurdity, viz., that you can have motion without rest—that to use the remark attributed to Archimedes, you could move the world without something whereon to rest your lever. You then deny that action and reaction are always equal. From these remarks I seek to establish this principle, that whenever you seek for motion, &c., I may say "progress," which is only a species of motion, you want something at rest. As in the universe, you go back to the first mover, which is God, and one of the strongest arguments for the existence of a Supreme Being is this very motion of the universe. From this I proceed to apply this same principle to "progress." You cannot have progress without something on which you can rest—from which you will either move or be moved. If you take the action of the human will, for instance, it may be changed, but that which wills the motion must itself remain unmoved, or else it cannot act or perform any motion itself. This principle is universal—you have it in mechanics and everything else. On that principle you build when you construct your machinery, and it is this which shows that the idea of attaining perpetual motion is an absurdity, because action and reaction being the same, you can't find force to keep it in operation in itself, but must borrow your force from some other source. Well, now, to pass from this point, taking this view with us, we must suppose that the cause of the universe is not in progress; and assuming that man makes progress by means of institutions, for these are his only support, and he cannot operate without them; man requires religious and social institutions—he requires them, that they may give him power to act, or by which he may be carried forward, as, indeed, a counterpressure. But if you go further, and say that these institutions must be progressive, then you deny this principle and assume that you may have motion without rest—that institutions always changed can afford support. If we could realize the dream of Semorris, that every institution

should follow the public will, the result would be that institutions would only embody for the time being, what the people were—they would not be any aids to the people, or be capable of enlarging their powers. Institutions then, if they are to accomplish any good purpose, must be in themselves fixed—on which man can rest and find support for his own activity. Thus it is with the church. How is it that it has carried our race forward? How has it effected so many changes for our benefit? Because it was itself unchangeable—always ready to supply the same amount of power, and that to all who applied for it. But if it had gone on with the generations, instead of having aided the progress of our race, it would have progressed itself. It would have looked to the human race for support, instead of their looking to it for their support. And this is much misunderstood. We want civil institutions adapted to our peculiar wants, so that they will feel every movement of public opinion. You see at once, the moment you assume this, that you are not assuming institutions for aiding the progress of individuals, but you are assuming the public for aiding the institutions. Now institutions never exist for their own sake, and their progress, even supposing their progress is the end to be used, is always, and it is the progress of individuals that we seek, and by them do we attain them. We can understand this by reflecting for a moment. Now there are men who tell us that man began his career imperfect, and that he will realize perfection and a higher sphere. They deprecate man's inhumanity to man. They tell us that man, vulture-like, feeds on the heart of man—that there is no feeling in common—that he does not feel for his fellow-man. They will point you to the servility of the poor, and the pride and haughtiness of the rich, and say these things ought not to be—that they could be cured, and ought to be cured; and then they propose means to effect a cure. These schemes are derived from man, and are therefore flexible, and not suitable to accomplish the change. From man you can get nothing but man. If he is enlightened and wise, you might get all those things—but if you cannot get from him what he has not, you can't reform the evils they complain of. To use a plain, home-spun figure, which I often use, "a man can't raise himself by his waistbands." (Laughter). Just so it is when a man attempts to raise himself. He fails because he has nothing but himself to raise with. You seek the motion, without the principle from which the motion is to be obtained. I am prepared to go still further, and say that there never has been this progress in our race which those modern philosophers contend for. There has been progress effected by religious institutions—but if you believe the history of all institutions—all except the church of God, which has supernatural support—you will find their most perfect state in their earliest state; and the history of all countries is a history of their decline and corruption. What a short-sighted philosophy of the day calls "progress," is nothing more than the generous effort of the day to stay the progress of corruption. Take the history of England, for instance. What is the *magna charta*, which is the honest boast of every Englishman? In that you see not any great acquisition of liberty, but merely a guaranty of less than what had been the rights of the Anglo Saxons. In the bloody and noble efforts of the barons, aided by the church, and seconded by the commons, there was nothing more than an effort to save from the general wreck some vestiges of their former liberty. Whenever you see people resort to written contracts, you will find there is no gaining of liberty, but a gaining of a guaranty of rights that were falling away. Thus, if we go back and examine the charter of the commons given to the three cities, you will find they only confirmed liberties previously enjoyed, but which were in danger of being taken away. They mark a time when tyrants received a check. So if you look at the institutions of this country, taking them at the present epoch of time, and comparing them as they existed at first, it will be seen that the early administrations were wiser and more virtuous, and the spirit of our institutions was more strictly adhered to at first than at a later period. And it argues nothing for the safety of our institutions to say that every year there is a departure from the principles, and from the form of government which our fathers intended should be the government of their children. And I might go on, and show that the proposition which I have laid down, that the history of the institutions of every country, when they are not protected by religion—their history is one of decline and of corruption; but the fact is so obvious that I need not dwell longer on it. If you

examine more closely the history of modern countries, you will find, not the progress of institutions, but the progress of society itself. We boast that we live in an enlightened age: but if we do boast so, it is because our vision is narrowed down to a small circle, and not because we are really more free or more enlightened than our fathers in the dark ages. I do not appear as the advocate of the follies of history; but though I am a man of my own age, I do not feel that this age can boast of any remarkable progress over the ages that preceded it. In regard to liberty, there never was, perhaps, a time when there was less of it than at present. We must not include our own country in the comparison I wish to make, because when comparing the amount of liberty existing in the present day and that existing centuries back, it will not bear the comparison as it is of modern times. But take England, for instance, and I must have read the history of that country to little advantage if the House of Commons has as much power now as it had in the twelfth or thirteenth century. If you come to the subject of education, you will find that the comparison will be much against us, unless we deny matters of history. The proportion of learned men in the middle ages was as one hundred to one to what they are now. At Oxford, in the year 1300, there were 30,000 students, and the same number in 1340. There are now in the same place between 4,000 and 5,000, and while the population has doubled, the number of the universities remain the same. It was the same at Cambridge—the comparison is the same. Besides these there were, throughout England, monasterial schools in each diocese—a cathedral school and a parochial school in each parish. It was the same in France and other parts of Europe—and where are they now? Within the last three hundred years they have declined, and if we believe the reports of Parliament, within a few years, there is ignorance in that free and enlightened kingdom, which has realized the better principles of the reformation—there is in that nation ignorance, the grossest ignorance—ignorance which you would look in vain for in the South Sea Islanders. If you pass from education to the social condition of the people, I am told on what is considered good authority, that at the period of the Reformation a labouring man would receive four times the amount of the necessaries of life that he can obtain now. There were then no standing armies—no national debt—no paupers. The last accounts from there show that one of every six is a pauper. And this is the progress which you have made! Under any other point of view it is the same—witness the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few, placing not only the land of the country in the hands of few, but placing the whole industrial capital in the hands of a few, and leaving the great mass of the people dependent on the landholders and fundholders. Then, if you go into the arts, you do not see any evidence of that progress you speak of. The latest built of the pyramids is the most perfect as a work of art and in architecture; this millenium of which you speak, may be a miracle of modern architecture, but not a cathedral of the middle ages.

MR. CALHOUN'S SPEECH ON SLAVERY.

SENATE. *Washington, Feb. 19th, 1847.*

SLAVERY—NEW HAMPSHIRE RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Cilley presented the following decisive preamble and resolutions from the Legislature of New Hampshire, in reference to the question of southern slavery.

The preamble sets forth, that, in the annexation of Texas, an act was perpetrated for the propagation of human oppression, odious to every friend of liberty; and that New Hampshire holds to the truth of the declaration of independence, that all men are created equal, and to the truth of the same declaration in her own bill of rights; that her voice shall be heard on the side of the oppressed, and against the system of human slavery, &c. &c.

The resolutions of the New Hampshire Senators and Representatives in Congress ask:—

1. For a movement in behalf of the extinction of slavery in the district of Columbia,

2. For the exclusion of slavery from Oregon, and from any territory that may hereafter be acquired.

3. For a resistance to the admission of any State into the Union acknowledging the institution of slavery.

Resolutions to be sent to the Governor of every State, and to each of the New Hampshire Senators and Representatives in Congress for presentation.

Mr. Calhoun—I rise simply to ask the Senator from New Hampshire by what majority those resolutions were passed?

Mr. Cilley was proceeding to answer,

Mr. Calhoun—I can't hear the Senator.

Mr. Cilley—I am unable to inform the Senator. They passed the Senate, however, by a very large majority.

Mr. Westcott raised the question of reception.

Mr. Cilley called for the ayes and noes. (Voices, Oh! no! no! withdraw the question.)

Mr. Calhoun—They are from a sovereign state; let them go.

The resolutions were accordingly received, laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

SLAVERY—NEW JERSEY RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Miller presented resolutions from the legislature of New Jersey, requesting their Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their efforts for the passage of a law requiring as a fundamental condition to the admission of any further territories into this Union, that slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crimes, shall be forever excluded from, and inhibited in, such territories.

Mr. Calhoun—I would put the same question to the Senator from New Jersey. By what majority did those resolutions pass?

Mr. Miller—They passed one house unanimously, and had only one vote against them in the other.

Laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

SLAVERY.—MR. CALHOUN'S RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Calhoun here rose and said:—Mr. President, I rise to offer a set of resolutions in reference to the various resolutions from the State Legislature upon the subject of what they call the extension of slavery, and the proviso attached to the House bill, called the three million bill. What I propose, before I send my resolutions to the table, is to make a few explanatory remarks. Mr. President, it was solemnly asserted on this floor some time ago, that all parties in the non-slaveholding States had come to a fixed and solemn determination upon two propositions. One was, that there should be no further admission of any States into this Union which permited, by their constitution, the existence of slavery; and the other was, that slavery shall not hereafter exist in any of the territories of the United States; the effect of which would be to give to the non-slaveholding States the monopoly of the public domain, to the entire exclusion of the slaveholding States. Since that declaration was made, Mr. President, we have abundant proof that there was a satisfactory foundation for it. We have received already solemn resolutions passed by seven of the non-slaveholding States—one-half of the number already in the Union, Iowa not being counted—using the strongest possible language to that effect; and no doubt in a short space of time similar resolutions will be received from all the non-slaveholding States. But we need not go beyond the walls of Congress. The subject has been agitated in the other House, and they have sent you up a bill, "prohibiting the extension of slavery," (using their own language) "to any territory which may be acquired by the United States hereafter." At the same time, two resolutions which have been moved to extend the compromise line from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, during the present session, have been rejected by a decided majority. Sir, there is no mistaking the signs of the times; and it is high time that the Southern States, the slaveholding States, should inquire what is now their relative strength in this Union, and what it will be if this determination should be carried into effect hereafter. * * * * * * * * * *

Now, I ask, is there any remedy? Does the constitution afford any remedy? And if not, is there any hope? These, Mr. President, are solemn questions—not

only to us, but, let me say to gentlemen from the non-slaveholding States, to them. Sir, the day that the balance between the two sections of the country—the slaveholding States, and the non-slaveholding States—is destroyed, is a day that will not be far removed from political revolution, anarchy, civil war, and wide spread disaster. The balance of this system is in the slaveholding States. They are the conservative portion—always have been the conservative portion—always will be the conservative portion; and with a due balance on their part, may, for generations to come, uphold this glorious union of ours. But if this policy should be carried out—if we are to be reduced to a handful—if we are to become a mere ball to play the presidential game with—to count something in the Baltimore caucus—if this is to be the result—wo! wo! I say to this Union! Now, sir, I put again the solemn question—does the constitution afford any remedy? Is there any provision in it by which this aggressive policy—boldly avowed, as if perfectly consistent with our institutions, and the safety and prosperity of the United States—may be confronted? Is this a policy consistent with the constitution? No, Mr. President, no! It is, in all its features, daringly opposed to the constitution. What is it? Ours is a federal constitution. The States are its constituents and not the people. The twenty-eight States—the twenty-nine States (including Iowa)—stand under this government as twenty-nine individuals, or as twenty-nine individuals would stand to a consolidated power. It was not made for the mere individual prosperity of of the State as individuals. No, sir. It was made for higher ends. It was formed that every State, constituting a portion of this great Union of ours, should enjoy all its advantages natural and acquired, with greater security, and enjoy them more perfectly. The whole system is based on justice and equality—perfect equality between the members of this republic. Nor can that be consistent with equality which will make this public domain a monopoly on one side—which, in its consequences, would place the whole power in one section of the Union to be wielded against the other sections of the Union? Is that equality? * * * That is a question which I will not undertake to decide. It is a question for our constituents—the slaveholding States. A solemn and a great question, Mr. President. And if the system shall be adverse at this time, I trust and believe that they will take under solemn consideration what they ought to do. I give no advice. It would be hazardous and dangerous for me to do so. But I may speak as an individual member of that section of the Union. There I drew my first breath. There are all my hopes. I am a planter—a cotton planter. I am a Southern man and a slaveholder—a kind and merciful one, I trust—and none the worse for being a slaveholder. I say, for one, I would rather meet any extremity upon earth than give up one inch of our equality—one inch of what belongs to us as members of this great republic. What? Acknowledged inferiority! The surrender of life is nothing to sinking down into acknowleded inferiority. I have examined this subject largely—widely. I think I see the future, if we do not stand up now; and in my humble opinion, the condition of Ireland is merciful and happy—the condition of Hindostan is peace and happiness—the condition of Jamaica is prosperous and happy, to what the Southern States will be, if now they yield. Mr. President, I desire that the resolutions which I now send to the table be read.

The resolutions were read, as follows:—

Resolved,—That the territories of the United States belong to the several States composing this Union, and are held by them as their joint and common property.

Resolved,—That Congress, as the joint agent and representative of the States of this Union, has no right to make any law, or do any act whatever, that shall directly, or by its effects, make any discrimination between the States of this Union, by which any of them shall be deprived of its full and equal right in any territory of the United States, acquired, or to be acquired.

Resolved,—That the enactment of any law which should directly, or by its effects, deprive the citizens of any of the States of this Union from emigrating with their property, into any of the territories of the United States, will make such discrimination, and would, therefore, be a violation of the constitution, and the rights of the States from which such citizens emigrated, and in derogation of that perfect equality which belongs to them as members of this Union, and would tend directly to subvert the Union itself.

Resolved,—That as a fundamental principal in our political creed, that a people in forming a constitution have the unconditional right to form and adopt the government which they may think best calculated to secure their liberty, prosperity, and happiness; and that in conformity thereto, no other condition is imposed by the federal constitution on a State in order to be admitted into this Union, except that its constitution shall be republican; and that the imposition of any other by Congress would not only be in violation of the constitution, but in direct conflict with the principle on which our political system rests.

I move that the resolutions be printed, I shall move that they be taken up to-morrow; and I do trust that the Senate will give them early attention, and an early vote upon the subject.

Mr. Benton then rose and said,—Mr. President, we have some business to transact. I do not intend to avoid business for a string of abstractions.

Mr. Calhoun—The Senator says he cannot take up abstractions. The constitution is an abstraction. Propriety is an abstraction. All the great rules of life are abstractions. The Declaration of Independence was made on an abstraction; and when I hear a man declare that he is against abstract truth in a case of this kind, I am prepared to know what his course will be. I certainly supposed that the Senator from Missouri, the representative of a slaveholding State, would have supported these resolutions. I moved them in good faith, under a solemn conviction of what was due to those whom I represent; and due the whole South and the whole Union. I have as little desire as any Senator to obstruct public business. All I want is a decision, and a decision before the three million bill is decided. If the Senator from Missouri wants to-morrow morning, very well. The resolutions can be taken up on Monday.

Mr. Benton—I will pursue my own course when the time comes. I know what are abstractions, and what are not. I know what business is, and what is not. I am for going on with the business of the session; and I say, I shall not vote for abstractions, years a-head, to the exclusion of business. He says he calculated on my course. He is mistaken. He knows very well, from my whole course in public life, that I would never leave public business to take up firebrands to set the world on fire.

Mr. Calhoun—The Senator does not at all comprehend me.

Mr. Benton—I am from the right place. I am on the side of my country and the Union.

The resolutions were laid on the table and ordered to be printed; and are to come up by agreement on Monday next.

[If Mr. Calhoun's resolutions are persevered in, the whole South may be driven to concentrate upon him, irrespective of party distinctions; and the contest in the north may be an exclusive northern competition of two or three candidates—the whig candidate, and Cass as the administration candidate, and Wright as the candidate of the restorationists, headed by Col. Benton. The results of such a contest it is impossible to guess at—they may terminate in an election by the House—and they may—that is, we were about to hazard the opinion that they may result in a split—there is another word, but we have sworn not to use it till the last extremity. Shades of our fathers! how momentous are the issues that depend upon the single hair, and the ten days limit, that holds the present Congress together!—W.]

The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star.

APRIL 15, 1847.

We have given place, in our columns of this number of the Star, to a larger amount of political matter than is usual. This we do because the peculiar and extraordinary political state of the nations at the present time, is among the signs of the times, which Saints who are disposed to chronicle, are edified by contemplating.

The condition of the nations of Europe, as described in another column of this STAR, is, probably, not overdrawn; but while men see the beam in the eyes of other nations, they are not always as clear sighted in regard to the beam that lies in their own eyes. The cords of union that bind the twenty-eight United States of North America, are being stretched at the present time full *tort*. A little stronger draught from the unflinching hand of the Northern Puritan, or from the elastic hand of the Chivalrick Southron, will break the cord. When once the cord is broken, all splicing or mending may be for ever despaired of.

The chance of competition between the Northern and Southren States, when once they are arrayed in hostile variance, will be so even-handed as to make the result of belligerent conflict for ever unenviable. Inflated with unequalled prosperity, and the elements of national greatness and supremacy, it may be expected that the dire collision, when it fairly begins, will never cease only in the dreadful extinction of both the proud rivals. The struggle to maintain equilibrium of power and privilege, has been long and arduously contested between the north and south; and while American statesmen are commenting upon the tottering condition of the old nations of Europe, whose long-venerated institutions are being held in derision, and their dismissal eagerly sought after, if they would look upon their own boasted fabric of government, they would see their own lofty walls and colossal columns ready to fall and grind them to powder.

But happy, thrice happy, are the righteous in all nations, whether of the old or new world, that shall take warning and escape to the cities of refuge, pointed out by the finger of God, until "the indignation be overpast." The troubled sea will ere long be calm, and the angry waters abate,—then may the "righteous go forth on the face of the earth, and grow up as calves of the stall, and the sun of righteousness will rise with healing in his beams." "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me." "For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. The sons also of them that afflicted thee, shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee the city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel." "When I called none did answer, when I spake they did not hear, but did evil before mine eyes, and chose that in which I delighted not."—When God begins to plead with the nations by famine, and pestilence, and sword, then it is time for the righteous to lift up their heads and begin to rejoice for the time of their redemption draweth nigh.

BRADFORD CONFERENCE.

Bradford, Feb. 8th, 1847.

Dearly beloved brother Spencer,—Whom having not seen, I love from the testimony of our beloved brethren the Twelve, who have laboured so diligently here in England, and set all things in order, for which we thank the Lord, who has so wisely brought about peace through his servants the Twelve.

We had our conference yesterday. It was a time of joy and peace. Never did I see more peace, union, and joy throughout the whole. My heart swells with emotion at the improvement of the church, for they are growing in love, and evince such a willingness in the priesthood to do right.

I will give you the minutes as given to me, though I condense them a little, for the sake of brevity, from what I received from the clerk.

MINUTES OF THE BRADFORD CONFERENCE.

February 7th, 1847.

This conference was held in Croft Street, School Road, Bradford, where the meeting was convened, about ten a.m., while joy beamed in every countenance. Elder Charles Miller being proposed and seconded to preside, and Priest John Stockdale to act as clerk, both were unanimously agreed to.

After meeting being opened with singing and prayer, the President arose and gave some beautiful remarks, showing the greatness of this work, and the responsibility of those in the priesthood to faithfully proclaim the gospel, and especially upon his responsibility with all in this conference, who are clothed with the priesthood. He spoke with warmth and zeal which language fails to express.

Officers present—1 high priest, 11 elders, 13 priests, 10 teachers, and 2 deacons. The representations were as follows:—

NAME OF THE BRANCH.	BY WHOM REPRESENTED.	MEM.	H. P.	ELD.	PR.	TEA.	DEA.	BAP.	CUT.	REM.	REC.	DEAD
Bradford ...	Elder J. Becroft ...	156	1	4	8	6	2	7	3	9	0	1
Leeds.....	„ W. Emsley ...	62	0	3	3	2	1	0	3	2	0	0
Idle	„ A. Lord	38	0	3	4	1	1	0	3	5	0	0
Huddersfield	„ H. Whittaker	37	0	1	2	1	1	4	0	7	0	0
Wakefield ...	High Priest C. Miller	20	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0
Halifax	Elder T. Child	9	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bramhope ...	„ James Cooper	14	0	1	2	0	0	4	1	3	6	0
Marsden ...	High Priest C. Miller	15	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low Moor ...	Elder John Peel ...	8	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gayle.....	„ J. Dinsdale ...	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total.....	362	1	17	20	16	5	17	10	26	7	2

The general standing, good, except Leeds, and that is in a fair way for improvement.—Closed with benediction.

AFTERNOON.

At two p.m., after the meeting being opened in the usual form, the President arose and spoke with holy zeal, declaiming warmly upon the recent outrages and general persecution of the Saints by the people of Illinois—alluding to their banishment and immense sacrifice of property, with loss of life and their being now in the wilderness without homes, he spoke in the most lucid manner, which caused a general feeling to run through the conference of sympathy for their brethren, and holy resentment for such outrages. He then read the Memorial from the Glasgow Conference, when the following resolutions followed:—

First.—That we, the Saints assembled in conference, fully appreciate the value and importance of the Memorial and Resolutions adopted by the Glasgow Conference (as recorded in STAR No. 3 of the 9th volume), and declare them as being expressive of our warmest feelings and approval as Saints of the Most High.

Second.—That we heartily welcome to our shores our beloved President, Elder Orson Spencer, to his presidential duties, feeling fully to sustain him and his counsellor in their important stations, praying that the mantle of our late beloved President, Elder Orson Hyde, may rest upon him in all his duties.

Third.—That we sustain the Twelve Apostles as presidents of the kingdom of God, with Brigham Young at their head, on the earth, upholding them by our faith and prayers before God continually.

Fourth.—That we sustain Elder Charles Miller as president of this conference, praying God to bless him with all needful gifts.

These resolutions were heartily responded to, with many appropriate remarks, showing their utmost approval, without the least shadow of a dissenting feeling in all the assembly.

The branches were then examined in order.

Elder Becroft arose and stated that he had pleasure in announcing that Elder Milnes was returned home, and as he was only appointed for the time being, he now left the charge of the branch before the conference.

The President arose and stated that Elder Becroft had been faithful in the discharge of his duties.

It was then moved, that we hereby testifiy that Elder Becroft has been faithful in the discharge of his duties as president. Carried unanimously.

Moved that Elder Edward Milnes preside over the Bradford branch. Carried, unanimously, with the exception of one vote, and he was desired to state his reasons before the council.

After some important remarks from the president and others, the following motion was passed, that we sanction the suggestion of the President, that he have charge of the Leeds branch for the time being, and that in his absence Elder Emsley preside. Carried unanimously.

All the other Presidents of branches were presented in order, and motions made that they be sustained in their standings, which were agreed to without a dissenting voice.

It was then moved that William Greenlay be ordained Priest for Bradford—that James P. Jones be ordained Priest for Leeds—and that George Gardner be ordained Priest for Bramhope. These brethren having shewn their willingness and desire to labour, the motions were passed unanimously.

While the Sacrament was administered, the Saints sung with much spirit, that beautiful poem "Now's the day of Israel."

Three children were blest, and the meeting adjourned with a benediction.

EVENING.

At six p.m. the meeting opened as usual, after which the President delivered an important address to the conference, especially the priesthood, showing the order of the kingdom and the responsibility upon the priesthood, and explained the duties of all.—The address will long be remembered by the Saints.

The brethren were then ordained, and the meeting closed with a benediction full of blessings.

The meetings were crowded, and truly it was a day of joy and blessings, never to be forgot.

P. S.—In the afternoon, the following motion was unanimously agreed on, that Elder Charles Miller be the Book Agent for this conference, and that we be responsible for the same.

CHARLES MILLER, President.
JOHN STOCKDALE, Clerk.

MACCLESFIELD CONFERENCE.

Middlewich Dec. 27th, 1846.

This conference was held at Middlewich, on the 27th December, 1847, at a quarter past eleven a.m.. The meeting was opened (by Elder John Sant) by singing part of the hymn on the 136 page "Except the Lord conduct the plan," &c.—Prayer being offered, Elder J. Goodfellow was called by the unanimous vote of the meeting to preside for the day; and Elder J. Walker to act as clerk.

Number of officers present, elders 9, priests 6, teachers 3, and deacons 3.

	MEM.	ELD.	PR.	TEA.	DEA.
Macclesfied Branch, represented by Elder Horrocks	119	4	6	6	1
Bollington	34	2	0	2	1
Middlewich	25	2	2	1	1
Northwich	8	1	0	1	0
Plumley	12	1	2	2	0
Budworth	6	1	0	1	0
Crewe	23	1	4	0	1
Rookry Bridge	2	1	0	0	0
Total	229	13	14	13	4

The representations made, it was moved by Elder Sant, seconded by Elder Hoole, that Northwich and Plumley be organized as one branch, and that Elder Bramhall preside over said branch. Carried unanimously.

It was then moved by brother Tims, seconded by brother Griffiths, that brother William Brown be ordained teacher in the Crewe branch; also moved by Elder Sant, seconded by Elder Hoole, that brother Thomas Nixon, formerly a teacher in the Middlewich branch, be ordained priest. Meeting adjourned till half-past two pm..

The interim being occupied by taking refreshment, the time for re-meeting arrived, when Elder Horrocks engaged in prayer, which done, Elder John Goodfellow rose to address the office bearers upon the order of the priesthood, and the necessity of union in that order, coupled with untiring effort and persevering fidelity in the discharge of all duties devolving upon all and each, remembering that whenever we are indulging in negligence, or the omission of any relative duty belonging to our office, we cease to be "co-workers together" with the head, who are to us, in "Christ's stead," &c.

The Saints realized the presence of the promised Comforter in the breaking of bread and bearing testimony.—Thus the time glided sweetly away, until half past four, when the meeting adjourned for one hour and a half, when it became necessary for many of the brethren and sisters to retire to their homes, having to walk from six to nine miles.

At six a council of the officers met pursuant to the notice for transacting a little business belonging to the branches, which done, the evening meeting commenced at half past six p.m., from which time, until half past eight p.m., the time was appropriated to the bearing of testimony by the officers—which testimonies were truly encouraging and exhilerating. There seemed a reluctance in giving the parting hand.

JOHN GOODFELLOW, President.
WILLIAM WALKER, Clerk.

N. B.—At the close of the afternoon service, the notice published in the 10th number of the STAR, Vol. 8, was brought before the meeting; when it was moved, seconded, and carried unanimously, that Elder Goodfellow appoint whoever he may select in any of the branches, of which appointment due notice will be given.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, March 18th, 1847.

Brother Spencer,—Sir,—When I received your valuable periodical for March 1st, in which Elder Hyde gives me counsel to go and take the presidency of the Carlisle conference, I had just written a letter to my wife, and was about to post it; but it being my good fortune, like the wise men of the east, who went to see the babe of Bethlehem, to be guided by the light of a star, and saw that Preston, where she resides, was in my way to my future field of labour, so Paddy-like I took the letter myself, and thereby saved the postage, so it is an ill wind that blows nobody a good turn, and arrived in Carlisle on the 10th of this month, and met with Elder Candland and Elder Charles Phelps. We called a council meeting on the 12th, when I found that division had existed among the officers which had been difficult to settle, this led brother Candland to advise them to be cut off, to which they all agreed, so the whole of the officers were severed from the branch, with this advice, to come in again by baptism when they had been re-baptized; finding that they were not called back into their offices they were quite dissatisfied, and it was soon seen that bad by this course was made worse. I then showed them that they had gone the wrong way to work, informing them that the order of God was to find out the transgressor, and separate him unless he was ready to make restitution; consequently I moved that every man be restored to his former standing, which was agreed to by the whole council, which was done by a vote of the same. Afterwards every man had the privilege given to speak his mind freely about existing evils, this was done with a good spirit, and went to prove that jealousy was the cause of their disaffection. This being manifest, it was agreed to that every man stand in his former office with this pledge, that each officer support his brother officer, and laid the decision of the council meeting before the church meeting on Sunday the 14th instant, and was pleased to see them support it with every good feeling, and to see that joy and peace prevailed in our midst during the services of

the day. Monday, the 15th, Elder Candland and myself walked over to Brampton. This is the branch that brother David is said to have separated entirely. The branch numbers about twenty-six members; he had not cut off the whole branch, but had left about fourteen standing, and had re-baptized eight of those he had cut off; so when I got here, five was the number that remained out of the church. He had dealt with them in the manner he had, because they were divided, and had agreed with him to be separated, thinking it would bring about a good feeling; but when the officers saw that they were not going to obtain their priesthood after their separation, they began to feel uneasy, and said that they were illegally cut off, and I restored them to their former standing, in the same manner that the Carlisle council was restored, except two, who had lost the confidence of the Saints. The Carlisle and Brampton branch, to a member, bore their testimony that brother David had always acted as a servant of God whilst in their midst, and said that they believed, even in the cutting off, he had done it with a good intent and for their prosperity, and had testimonials sent me from all the other branches desiring me to continue him among them, and I feel in duty bound to say, that brother Candland has submitted himself to the counsel I have given him, and has done all that he could to assist me in setting things right. Many are the persons here in Newcastle that are inquiring after the truth through his labours, and from what I have seen while with him, he is aiming at doing right. For the present, Brother Candland is going to labour about Newcastle, and Brother Charles Phelps about Carlisle, and I hope by our united labours we shall do a good work. That this may be the case is the prayer of your brother in Christ, WILLIAM SPEAKMAN.

SONG, BY A SON OF ZION.

Wake! O, wake! the world from sleeping,
Watchman, watchman what's the hour?
Hark ye, only hear him saying
'Tis the last—the eleventh hour.

Chorus.—For we are the true born sons of Zion,
No one with us can compare,
We're of the root and branch of Joseph,
The bright and glorious morning star.
For we are the true born sons of Zion.

Lo! the lion's left his thicket,
Up ye watchmen be in haste,
The destroyer of the Gentiles,
Goes to lay their cities waste.
For we are, &c.

Bring the remnants from their exile,
For the promise is to them;
Japheth ruled the world his time out,
He must leave the "Tents of Shem."
For we are, &c.

Comfort ye the house of Israel,
They are pardon'd, gather them;
Hear the watchmen's proclamation,
Jews, rebuild Jerusalem.
For we are, &c.

Soon the Jews will know their error,
How they killed the Holy One;
And they'll mourn and shout Hosanna,
This is "THE BELOVED SON!"
For we are, &c.

Sound the trumpet with the tidings,
Call in all of Abraham's seed;
Though the Gentiles may reject it,
Christ will come in very deed.

For we are the true born sons of Zion,
No one with us can compare,
We're of the root and branch of Joseph,
The bright and glorious morning star,
For we are the true born sons of Zion.

LINES,

BY MISS MARGARET GRATRIX.

An angel from heaven has come,
And brought us the gospel of Christ,
That Ephraim no longer may roam,
But go to the land of the west,
For that is the land of the brave.

Ye children of Zion arise,
Who're among the Gentiles oppress'd,
In this generation be wise,
And flee to the land of the west,
For that is the land of the brave.

Come, Ephraim, thou bless'd of the Lord,
O come to the place of thy rest,
For Jesus has spoken the word,
Thou shalt dwell in the land of the west,
For that is the land of the brave.

Oh, Ephraim, thou art my first born;
In thee shall all nations be blest;
Although thou hast wander'd forlorn,
Yet thou shalt rejoice in the west,
Then flee to the land of the brave.

VARIETIES.

CHRISTIAN FORBEARANCE.—When Abraham sat at his tent door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man, stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travel, coming towards him, who was 100 years of age; he received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down; but, observing that the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of Heaven. The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other God. At which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry, that he threw the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night, and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham and asked him where the stranger was. He replied, "I thrust him away, because he would not worship Thee." God answered him, "I have suffered him these hundred years though he dishonoured me, and wouldst thou not endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble?" Upon which, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction. Go, then, and do likewise, and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham.—*Jeremy Taylor.*

ECONOMICAL GROG, ON THE PLAN OF M. SOYER'S ECONOMICAL SOUPS.—Take a pint of boiling water, and put into it a thin slice of lemon. Add to this a few grains of nutmeg, and three lumps of white sugar. Pour out into wine-glasses, stir up with silver spoon, and drink warm. The cost is as follows:—

Water	0*d.*
Firing	¼
Three lumps of sugar	½
Nutmeg	¼
Slice of lemon	¼
	1¼

The above quantity will suffice for at least a dozen people. The flavour is something quite novel, and besides having the recommendation of excessive cheapness, is found to be very refreshing, and, providing it is taken in moderation, exceedingly healthy. It is just the thing to take before singing a convivial song, or after proposing a friend's health. A person may take six tumblers of it with the greatest comfort, without feeling any of those boisterous effects or nervous headaches the following morning, which result from drinking grog made of gin, whisky, rum, or brandy. It is strongly recommended for the use of families.—*Punch.* [If the economical soup recommended for the poor has no more nourishment than the economical grog has stimulant for the lovers of strong drink, we think the above is a snug fit.—ED.]